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ABSTRACT

English is spreading throughout the world far more rapidly than any other language; however, the level of sentimental attachment or genuine liking for English falls far short of the level of necessity-based desire to learn it. There is a possibility that the spread of English is decreasing: given some rapid economic or military change around the world, there could be a concomitant separation of peoples' attachment to English. In many countries, local authorities are engaged in language planning to foster the positive image of the national language for many functions for all people, and simultaneously to foster the spread of English in its function--a difficult set of co-occurring goals. As the spread of English makes the rest of the world increasingly bilingual, the Anglophone world remains predominantly monolingual. There is substantial bilingual education in the United States, but it is primarily non-transitional; the level of functional bilingualism in the Anglo world is very low. The survival of America as a democratic civilization depends upon the survival of a pluralistic mythology through greater balance between English and the other languages in the U.S. It is the responsibility of CATESOL and all the TESOL's to work toward such a balance. (EJS)

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THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH: A WORLDWIDE FACTOR IN THE MAKING AND BREAKING OF BILINGUALISM

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Before I left New York on Friday, my youngest son, who feels that he in particular has the usual advantage of being able to ask questions the older boys are now too mature to ask, took me aside and said, "Dad, I know you're not leaving for California now because it's just the time that we're all hard at work preparing for Passover and we have to carry dishes in and out and I know you're not trying to get away from all that work, are you, Dad? Actually, why are you leaving just now for California?" And I wondered how could I have put it to him and really convinced him at the ripe old age of sixteen that there was good reason to leave for California just now. Should I tell him that the study of bilingualism was central to the study of the sociology of language and the development of a new literature curriculum? I decided that that was exactly what he expected me to say and therefore I'd better not be that abstract about it. I could have compounded the problem by telling him that the sociology of language had contributed quite a bit to the study of bilingualism and therefore a kind of mutual give-and-take was called for and therefore I was going out there to engage in that endeavor, but I feared that that wouldn't sound quite real to him either. Or that the spread of English around the world today was one of the major factors in the growth of bilingualism as a worldwide phenomenon. But since his own bilingualism or trilingualism had long come to be taken for granted and he really doesn't realize that there are many people around the world that are not trilingual, I thought that that wouldn't have quite the impact on him it might have in other circles. So I finally told him that I was sorry, but I had just misplanned.

Basically, however, my explanation for coming is that the making and breaking of bilingualism as a result of the spread of English is a very powerful, potentially dangerous, certainly problematic process around the world, and you are there: This is your life. You are involved in that process and it ought to be among the problems that you carry around with you. You have several problems: Will your program be funded for next year, and one thing or another; but relative to most other language teachers, those teachers that are involved in bilingual education on the one hand or in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages on the other hand, are involved in very serious, potentially dislocative, potentially disruptive, potentially very worthwhile and powerful social processes. And English being what it is today, you have in the palm of your hands, throughout your working career either one of the greatest blessings or one of the greatest curses to be visited upon mankind in recent years, namely the spread -- the controlled spread -- of English. And it's up to all of us that are involved with English to know that that is the case, to know what to do with -- if you like --an English time bomb ticking away in our hands.

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A slightly different version of this speech was presented at the CATESOL State Conference in San Diego, March, 1977.

I'd like to say that just as the atomic bomb has had its most severe repercussions in the United States itself, so the ticking English bomb could similarly have its most harmful repercussions in the United States. We cannot blissfully go about our lives thinking that since we are the masters of English, it might hurt some people somewhere, but it's not going to hurt us if it gets out of hand. We and our children, wherever they go around the world, carry the guilt of the bomb, and the insecurity as to what kind of country we and they have grown up in that could have dropped that bomb with as little thought or as little sense of responsibility. If the growth of English were to have the kinds of severe consequences it could have outside the United States as it has already had within the United States, then it will again be primarily our children who will have to face the guilt, the insecurity, the concern as they watch its spread.

What do I mean by that? There are several different levels in which all of us can notice what is happening with respect to the status and the impact of English around the world. One of those levels is that of "English as an international language." Previous languages of wider communication have spread around the world in previous centuries, just as English is doing today, but perhaps without the benefit of clergy, so to speak; that is, without the benefit of quite as much monitoring. English is spreading around the world at a time when there are more polities, that is, there are more independent countries than ever before in world history. I don't know exactly what the number is today, but tomorrow it may be one more than that. At any rate, the process of political reorganization of the world has driven the number of countries up to 150, and they are all monitoring units and, therefore, there is more accomplished information, more relatively accurate information, more current information with respect to the spread of English than has ever been available with respect to the spread of any other language, previously.

The International Center for Research on Bilingualism in Quebec City at the University of Laval is publishing volume after volume in English and in French on the linguistic make-up of the countries of the world, and is bringing together the information from around the world. You can almost look up any city now, any city, and get historical trend data with respect to the number of mother-tongue speakers of English and second-language speakers of English around the world. Now, that's very unusual information. I also gathered such data when I did the study on bilingual education around the world, and I've reported it in my little volume Bilingual Educator: An International Sociological Perspective. I found the recurring pattern of "English-Plus." Bilingual education around the world at this time is due more to the spread of "English-Plus" than to the spread of any other language, and I monitored it in that little volume for about 117 countries. And very recently in an international study, specifically focused on the spread of English -- ingeniously entitled The Spread of English -- I again found that there's a huge amount of information coming in all the time, being monitored nationally and internationally, that makes it clearer than ever before what happens when a language is spread around the world.

English is spreading around the world in governmental functions, in quasi-governmental functions; it is spreading even in non-governmental functions, and, at this moment, about one-third of the total gross national product of the world is in the hands of English-mother-tongue countries, and that is a tremendous impetus to the further spread of English where it is welcomed and even where it is not welcomed.

At this moment about two-thirds of all the students studying outside of their own countries of birth are studying in English-mother-tongue countries. The English-mother-tongue countries, because of their very great economic and military prowess, are also the magnets attracting students from all over the world and fostering in them a greater mastery of English at the same time they are acquiring other skills.

Knowledge of English is expanding around the world. A good estimate of the full number of English-speaking people in the world today is roughly 800 million, a number that is more than double the number of mother-tongue speakers of English. There is a growing wave of English as a second language around the world, or as an additional language, both in terms of knowing English and of using English. Now, using English is not quite up to the level of knowing English. As you all must recognize, you all get letters from around the world written in what is supposed to be English, and you realize that what is being used there leaves much to be desired. But there is a great wave of knowing English, of using English and, on the other hand, a gap between the degree of knowing and using English and the extent of liking English. I would say that the level of intensity of sentimental attachment to English is so far below the level of intensity of desire to acquire English that this gap itself poses a problem, an interesting dilemma that ought to be looked at.

The knowing of English around the world in non-mother-tongue countries is still very much social-class related, and that's primarily because the opportunities to acquire English around the world are still very much social-class related. Or another way of saying it is that since the acquisition of English is to a large extent tied into educational opportunity and since around the world education tends to quickly run out of steam beyond the first few elementary years, those that can stay in education beyond these years tend to be a very select segment of the population, easily defined on social-class grounds, so that the knowing of English is still heavily characterized in terms of social class characteristics; however, more and more it is finding its way into the main stream of education and into lower and lower levels of education around the world as a co-language of education.

That trend obtains not only in economically advanced countries but also and even particularly in non-advanced countries. The using of English is somewhat less social-class conditioned -- because a lot of people use English who don't particularly know it. It tends to be more occupationally determined than social-class related. There are a lot of lower class occupations around the world -- service occupations -- which bring with them some use of English.

Finally, as for the liking of English, I would say, there's probably never before been a language that's spread that far with so little emotional attachment to it, with so little emotional investment, sentimental interest in it, interest in the original speakers, attachment to the original speakers, emotional reverberation together with the original speakers. Even today, although French, Arabic, Russian, Chinese, and Spanish are to some extent still spreading around the world, and although they are spreading far less rapidly than English (far less rapidly), they all have--wherever they are required as second languages--a more frequent emotional loading (a positive emotional loading) -- than does English, which is spreading more rapidly and more instrumentally. And therein is a danger because it indicates that the possibility of disestablishing the

spread of English is not that remote. That is, given some rapid economic and military change around the world, the disconnecting, the separation of peoples' attachment to English could be a rather rapid affair.

In addition to the looking at the international role of English merely in terms of its position in international affairs, there is another way of looking at it and that is in terms of the international community. There is around the world, in almost every large city, a population that can be called the "international" and that can be studied as such. They are not all from English-mother-tongue countries, by any means, but, frequently, as internationals, as business representatives, as students abroad, as technological experts, as tourists, as United Nations representatives, their role as internationals is expressed in English and, therefore, there are for them shops and theaters and publications and restaurants and mass media to serve them in their role as internationals.

This is another very powerful force on behalf of English, that is, English has become around the world the language of the expatriates, of those who are living outside of their homelands-- often at a high educational and technical preparation. They may go home and speak their mother tongues at home, but when they're living elsewhere around the world and when they meet with one another -- even if they are Russians, even if they are Chinese -- they are likely to interact in English as internationals. This is another aspect of the image that English begins to have locally around the world. It is not only the language attached to foreign technology and foreign power, but it is also the language attached to foreigners coming from around the world to wherever the locals are, and it is to some extent the language which is attempted and utilized by local people who move up in the social ladder and who begin to behave like foreigners, who dress like foreigners, who eat like foreigners, and therefore it has a certain amount of opprobrium attached to it. It is the language of "our own kind" of people" who aren't behaving like our own kind of people anymore. This is another aspect of the lack of positive image and even of the negative image attached to English: it is necessary, but not very much liked.

Another level of the position of English abroad, which you can contrast with the international level, is the "intranational" level. It is not only needed abroad in order to be in touch with English-mother-tongue countries, to engage in international affairs with non-English-mother-tongue countries, but it is the foreign language most often recognized in local education for locals, most often recognized in local industry for locals, most often recognized in local commerce for locals. That's an <u>intra</u>national role. As much as ministries of foreign affairs and ministries of commercial affairs and ministries of industrial affairs and technological enterprises around the world feel that the international role of English is somewhat beyond anything they can cope with -- it is usually just out there and they necessarily get along with it because it is there -- the intranational role of English, the role of English in local education, the role of English in local industry, the role of English even in local government when dealing with locals is something which is causing a great deal of concern and <u>is</u> being coped with, <u>is</u> being planned for. Many of the roughly 120 non-English-mother-tongue polities around the world (adopting a very broad definition of what are English-mother-tongue polities) are channeling or controlling the spread of English today as they pursue their own development, and what they are trying to do is to bring together two things (two processes) which could become incommensurable. They're trying, on the one hand, to further the spread of English among their own countrymen as part of the modernization process, particularly so

that the spread of English more and more will lose its social class restrictiveness, so it will be available not only on a social class basis and therefore not become another class factor divisive within their country so that not only the wealthy and the better-educated can know English and so that not only they are exposed to English reading and English opportunities.

That is one concern. On the other hand, there is the corresponding concern that the spread of English demographically not be related to the spread of English functionally, that is: that it not displace one or more of the favored local languages from their protected local functions in government, in education, and in integrative national experiences.

These are two processes which are getting a lot of attention around the world, and they are two goals which could be in conflict and which polity after polity is trying to integrate and to attack simultaneously.

So, very commonly around the world, where Third World countries now come into increasing stability, increasing technology under their own control, increasing opportunity to foster trade and commercial relationships with various parts of the world rather than with just one camp or the other, we find that, for example, in previously anglophone colonies, a constant trend of keeping English -- but keeping it only in one corner of the educational system rather than letting it pervade education. Whereas, let's say, twenty years ago (soon after the Second World War) the best predictors of what non-English-mother-tongue countries used English as the medium of primary education were prior anglophone colonial status, dependence on export-import relations with non-English-mother-tongue countries and poverty (the poorer the country the more likely it was to engage in elementary education in English even if the people were not English-speaking).

Now, twenty years afterwards, each of these factors is at least being coped with by governmental programs. Therefore there is a diversification of import-export relationships and, more and more, the retention of English but only in one corner of the educational system, so that I think you can expect, for example, the Filipino approach to spread further, much further. As opposed to even five years ago, English is being avowedly maintained in Filipino education, primarily for technological and scientific subjects, whereas all other subjects -- which means language, literature, history, civics, occupational preparation, health subjects, are taught through Filipino, (which is the new name for Tagalog). Filipino will be the language of integrated, shared experiences for all children so that they can be brought together with a new identity, the Philippine identity. English is needed, but only in a relatively easily identified and ethnically unencumbered, or less encumbered, set of educational experiences.

All of what I have just mentioned to you goes under the rubric of "status planning." In country after country the status of English is being planned. It is being planned so that its function does not expand so as to leave no room for local integrative languages. The future -- at least the immediate future -- of the world is for more governments to be conducted in local languages then ever before in world history, more education to be conducted in local languages than ever before in world history, but for English not to be displaced in the same way as, for example, Latin was displaced or as other world languages were displaced with no official role at all. All of that is status planning.

On the other hand, government after government is engaged in what can be called "corpus planning," that is setting up academies, setting up language-monitoring institutions to be sure that the linguistic impact of English does not become too

great. The Filipino Academy is creating terminologies for all its textbooks in Filipino, so that there is not an informal mixture of English terminology into the Filipino textbooks. This kind of corpus planning to make sure that the local language is linguistically shielded and is kept as an independent entity, if you like, so that the infusion of English that may go on in popular speech does not intrude into writing, does not intrude into formal use of the local language, is another very powerful device being used around the world to make sure English is kept in its place. English has a place, it has a status -- but the local economy and the local educational scene, and local government, have all erected barriers so that English does not displace local languages. At the same time English is being watched linguistically so that it does not intrude upon local languages. So that what you see is more and more capacity in the Third World for positive-self-image planning, so that there will be a guaranteed role for local languages and the spread of English will be retained or contained for the functions for which it is required.

There is another level, and this will be the last one that I will go into, where one can monitor the role of English, and that is at the community level. Adults come home from the literacy program and in doing so they bring some English with them, even though they tend to remain non-English-speaking people at home. There is no place around the non-English-mother-tongue world today where one can say that English is displacing any other language as a mother tongue. There are, actually, a few very marginal such cases, but generally there is no such process today. Nevertheless, English is brought home. First of all, if you monitor, as I have done in many countries, the proportion of signs in English -- store signs, street signs, directional signs; you can actually measure this if you compare old signs with new signs, non-neon signs with neon signs -- you can clock the spread of English-language signs around the world. Similarly for labels on products sold in stores. There are several studies now showing that, particularly, more expensive products in stores have more English on the label and, of course, there are now beginning to be a really substantial number of English publications around the world -- periodical publications -- intended for non-English-mother-tongue readers: local newspapers and local journals.

Nevertheless, the question that I'd like to pose is "What impact does this have on local language use?" Generally, it has very little displacive impact on local language use. Children do not become English-mother-tongue speakers around the world as a result of these processes except, let's say, in a few academic cases. There is growing evidence about academic families -- if you like, academic and artistic families -- in parts of the world where there is a high mixture of populations and, therefore, if you like, "intertribal" maraiages (that's not really the right word because those people don't consider themselves "tribal;" it's just that our own poverty in English causes me to refer to the peoples of Asia and Africa as "tribal"). There are parts of the world where there are high mixtures of populations, particularly in academic and artistic life, and there is an increasing number of families (family units) raising their children in English, which is the lingua franca between mother and father. But nevertheless around the world that's a very minor demographic development.

What does happen, therefore, is that local mother tongues are not being displaced by English even though children are learning English, and parents are learning English, workers are learning English; not only intellectuals are learning English. What happens to their local language? There tends to be a lot of

English used in informal language around the world, even in formal educated language around the world and in formal non-educated language around the world. Attitudinally, if you study the attitudes about English that school children around the world have, you find that they have a very exaggerated view of the vitality and the historicity and the autonomy of English, just to use Stewart's dimensions that many of you know. That is, if you study children before and during the first years in which they're taught English at school, you find that the local children very frequently think that everybody in the world speaks English. The reason they're being taught it is because everybody in the world speaks English. Its vitality has reached 100 percent when you get children actually estimating that 100 percent of the people in the world speak English.

With respect to its historicity, English is commonly viewed by children around the world as being the oldest language. That's interesting because it is part of a repeated view that "old languages are good languages." It is a very common view, both among adults and among children, that one good thing about a language is if it's very old, if it goes all the way back, and in optimal circumstances, if God used it to create the world. Even in the United States you frequently get the view that if English was good enough for Moses or Jesus Christ, it ought to be good enough for all those chicanos out there. This naive notion with respect to the historicity of English, that it was always there, that practically the foundation of the world began from it, is very common. Similarly, the view that English is a pure language is very widespread among children around the world, another metaphor for desirability. People tend to rationalize what is seen as an inevitable future goal. The acquisition of English is necessary and therefore it is numerous, it is ancient, and it is pure relative to local languages, which are frequently seen as of far less value, even if they are objectively older and less fusion-based than English.

On the other hand, it is interesting to see that in more and more countries around the world, the children of the internationals are going to the same schools as children of nationals, have more contact with the children of nationals, more than was probably true in the age when French was spreading in Europe and in parts of Africa and Asia, and therefore more English-mother-tongue children abroad (children of internationals) are rubbing shoulders more with children of nationals, even though they may be rather favorably described nationally as the wealthier, the economically and ethnically more fortunate nationals; nevertheless they're present in the same schools, and these schools are teaching not only in English but also in one or another favored local language. As these English-mother-tongue children live more and more abroad, there are now more and more studies that show that they aspire to non-native English, that is, English-mother-tongue children abroad lose the native phonology of their homes and aspire to the same non-native phonology that their local classmates use. This is certainly an aspect of the greater contact between the two groups, but it is an indication that both groups of children are conflicted abroad with respect to English. The loss of native phonology is always a sign of conflicted identity once you have native phonology and you lose it. For adults abroad it's called "Fulbright's Disease." As professors live abroad and they begin to lose their native phonology and their native fluency, it is always interpreted as "you're becoming one of us now." You snap your fingers if you can't remember the English word that you want to use, just as the locals do.

The exaggeratedly positive view of English to local children abroad, however, is also a conflicted one. The view that another language (not one's own) is greater, purer, more ancient than one's own is a painful experience for children,

and it's an experience which finally has to feed into their whole political awareness, their whole cultural awareness, and is therefore related to the kind of language planning that is going on abroad where ministries of education are trying to counteract that view, and to enable children abroad to realize that the world did not come into existence on the basis of God's saying in English: "Let there be light!" This is part of culture planning abroad, to see English in perspective.

An interesting thing that governments are very concerned about in local life is the use of English in advertising abroad, for non-English-mother-tongue populations. There are several studies now that show that messages in English of certain content, directed toward adults, are preferred -- that is, they are more believed, they are more accepted, than the substantially equivalent messages aimed at non-English-mother-tongue people in their own mother tongue. There's a certain authority behind the English message, there's a certain incontrovertability about the English message, particularly if it has to do with some kind of scientific, technological, modern message. This is very worrisome to many governments abroad. It's bad enough if children have this exaggerated view with respect to the authenticity of English, with respect to the vitality of English. That adults should also unconsciously have this view that if it's said in English it must be true, or it must be truer than if it were said in our own language, that is another part of the cultural insecurity of peoples abroad that their local authorities are trying to cope with.

In country after country, local authorities are engaged in language planning so as to foster the positive modern image of the national language for many functions for all people, in addition to the spread of English in its functions, and that is quite a difficult set of co-occurring goals.

Now, meanwhile, what is going on back at the ranch? What is going on in the English-mother-tongue-world? We were speaking only about the non-English-mother-tongue world up until now. We have to remind ourselves that most of the world is non-English-mother-tongue. What is going on in the English-mother-tongue world?

The rest of the world is becoming highly bilingualized. Probably it's been a long time since this much of the world, if ever, was so bilingual as it is now. The rest of the world is becoming more and more bilingualized and the spread of English is one of the factors in the bilingualization of the world. Not in all parts of the world equally, but I think that there's no other language spreading in all parts of the world as much as is English, whether it's in the Moslem World or the Communist World or the Third World, although it's not spreading equally fast in all of those worlds.

Meanwhile, what is happening with bilingualization in the English-mother-tongue world? The Anglophone World is either still, or nevertheless, predominately monolingual. The most monoligual nations in the world, generally speaking, are the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Anglo Canada, and England, with the lowest proportion of functional bilinguals, the highest rate of attrition of those functionally bilingual and, very significantly, the lowest incidence of non-transitional bilingual education. Non-transitional bilingual education is either enrichment or language maintenance bilingual education. It accounts for three-quarters of the bilingual education in the world. But in the United States it's very rare. Ours is a country where there is substantial bilingual education, but it is almost entirely transitional and has a completely opposite view of what bilingual education is for than that which exists around the world. Even relative

to other massive monolingual population concentrations, such as in the Soviet Union, or in France, or in the Arabic world, or in the Chinese world, the incidence of functional bilingualism in the Anglo World is low.

Now, there are several reasons for that. First of all the reasons that have taken me all this time to go through; namely, the fact that English is spreading, is available, throughout the world is one reason why the reality of other languages does not strike home as much for us and our children. You can go anywhere around the world and find very advanced interloctors, services, opportunities in English. That is, in terms of instrumental value, there's a great disproportion between the instrumental value of English and any other lingua franca found around the world. Secnndly, we have gone through, in the United States and in many of the other English-mother-tongue countries, the process of integration of immigrants. Most of the English-mother-tongue countries have experienced substantial immigration in the last century and English has therefore been the lingua franca among immigrants and the language of integrating the immigrants, at least at some superficial level, into an integrative national identity. Furthermore, the English-mother-tongue world is a world that has been blessed by substantial social mobility opportunities, and there is nothing as dislocative of mother tongues as social mobility through another language. It's now quite clear that the opportunity for great social mobility has now pretty much evaporated in the English-mother-tongue world and that mostly where we promise social mobility as the reason for anglification of non-English-mother-tongue groups within the English-mother-tongue world, we are advancing a promissory note that will either not be paid off or will not be paid off as well as it was fifty years ago when the promise was far greater than it is today. Nevertheless, the fact that so much social mobility at one time did go on in the English-mother-tongue world -- the United States, Canada, Australia -- is another reason why the immigrant languages were weakened so quickly and almost so uniformly.

For all of these reasons certainly, there is a view of life in English-mother-tongue countries which depreciates the role of language in human affairs. In terms of social priorities the humanities come out low, even in educational circles, and the humanities are the particularly language-invested subjects, where you not only can't escape from language, but you don't want to escape from language on the assumption that it's precisely language that provides the perspective that you're after, or the emotional, historical investment that you're after. There are few intellectual circles around the world that take quite as much pleasure as do the Americans in savoring the inaccuracy of the Whorfian Hypothesis and of the Herderian view that peoples around the world have nothing more precious in their lives than their languages. Herder's and Whorf's views are hardly known in the United States in intellectual circles, and where they are known there's a great deal of pleasure in pointing out that they are overstated. This is a kind of what the Germans call Schadenfreud: a kind of joy in finding out that you can harm something, discredit it, weaken it. In general, we live in an intellectual world that finds joy in pooh-poohing the mystical assumptions of people -- the mystical religious assumptions, the mystical linguistic assumptions, the mystical cultural assumptions -- and all of that leaves us with hardly any basic intellectual role for other languages. It's as if languages were nothing more than carbon copies of each other, and if you already have English, the original, why would you want to have any other? This view percolates down into the mainstream and you get very little consciousness of English among our countrymen You only have to scratch a French countryman to get him to tell you something about the beauty of French. God and the angels sing

in French, it's quite clear. You get that in the Spanish world, you get that in the Russian world, you get that in the Arabic world, almost all you can put up with. But it's really a very great investment in the beauty of language. You don't even have to know that beautiful classical Arabic (or that devine French). You don't even have to control it very well, to love it, to respect it, to worship it, to love to sit around listening to it, and to love to watch other people reading it if you can't read it yourself. You get very little of that kind of emotional reaction to English within the English-mother-tongue world. It's as if English were just part of the air: we don't sit around worshipping the air; it's just there!

All of these reasons, all of these factors, leave the English-mother-tongue peoples with a problem with respect to English. They are developing in a different direction from the rest of the world. And this brings me to the point of parochialism: there is an unfortunate parochialism of a world language in its own heartland. And as with any parochialism, there's a great price to pay for it. There's a parochialism of the small as well as a parochialism of the great, and a parochialism of the poor as well as a parochialism of the rich. But it is part of the facts of life that the parochialism of the poor runs into problems which counteract it as people try to solve the issues of poverty. The parochialism of the rich runs into fewer barricades and therefore is far more difficult to counteract. The parochialism, the provincialism, if you like, the phillistinism of the strong is a great problem in the world today, and many of the most provincial or parochial and phillistinistic are English-mother-tongue individuals, powers, establishments who have had no contrastive humanistic exposure to help them through life. Anglo-American tendencies toward self-insulation and self-isolation are dangerous. They are even dangerous for Anglophone technological mastery, Anglophone industrial superiority because, after all, that mastery and that superiority are not really due to any inherent superiority of English. There is nothing in English grammar or phonology that makes these machines run better and that will perserve them into the future.

The maintenance of world leadership, even if we're just talking about industrial and technological leadership, is more and more dependent upon communicative sensitivity because we're dealing more and more with a Third World which is standing up on its own two feet, willing to go to great lengths in order to do so. We're dealing more and more with a world which is organizing itself and willing to sacrifice for its convictions. And we may not like it, but it is an inevitable part of the maturation of The Third World, which is by and large not white, not Christian, and is going to run its own show more and more, even if it's with our money, even if it's with our arms. And it doesn't have to be with our money in the future and it doesn't have to be with our arms in the future. And there will definitely have to be more and more cultural sensitivity, cultural sympathy, if you like, cultural sentimentality, built into the education of Americans if only for the preservation of their technological role in the world.

So that leaves us with a question. How does one maintain or attain the humanization of America, so that it can function both through English and non-English the way the rest of the world will be functioning through non-English and English more and more, and so that it can begin to incorporate within its own lifestyle some of the humanistic mystification which the rest of mankind frequently recognizes as an important aspect of the human condition?

One of the approaches in the United States has been toward greater and greater sympathy in connection with enrichment bilingual education. Enrichment around the world accounts for half of the approximately ten-thousand secondary units and easily a hundred-thousand elementary units engaged in bilingual education; i.e. half of them are involved in enrichment bilingual education. Enrichment bilingual education means bilingual education for the main stream children going through the educational system, rather than just corrective bilingual education, or, if you like transitional, compensatory bilingual education or just politicized maintenance bilingual education due to nationalistic confrontations. Enrichment bilingual education for America's children would be good for your children as it has been for my children, as well as for chicano children, as well as for Indian children; it would provide binocular vision, the kind of sympathy for entirely different views of looking at snow, entirely different ways of looking at love, of looking at life, of feeling music. And I do think that even the future of language-maintenance bilingual education in the United States will be fostered only by implementing enrichment bilingual education here. Ultimately the survival of America as a democratic civilization is going to be oddly dependent upon the survival of a pluralistic mythology in the United States. Certainly the very survival of many other desirable developments in the world depends upon the United States being able to join the mainstream rather than feel that it is the mainstream of the world.

The United States, due to the spread of English around the world and in the United States, is perhaps the most imbalanced, uncontrolled anglophone environment in the world, and might it not be (here I'm talking again, of course, to my sixteen year old) might it not be the responsibility of CATESOL and all the TESOL's to work toward a greater balance between English and the other languages in the United States, whether this is via bilingual education or some other means?

I'd like to close by telling you that the Bilingual Education Act is coming up for reconsideration. I don't know how prepared you are for that. And there's an opportunity to engage in a dialogue with our Congressional representatives so that that Act is meaningfully expanded, so that it becomes possible (initially on an experimental basis, rather than on a mass basis) to set up good bilingual education schools in cities around the country for good students. I'm sure that once they are set up for your children and for other nice, proper, white, fancy, middle-class children, they will be very good programs. Perhaps their ultimate contribution will be to build a culturally democratic America, a linguistically balanced America, a philosophically maturer America. That is the kind of America the world needs and the kind we need too.